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ABSTRACT

Drawing mainly on cross tabulations of some variables from the General Social Survey of the Roper Center for Public Opinion Research at the University of Connecticut, this paper reports black and white Americans' opinions on key issues of policy debate in the United States. In some cases, opinions are reported over a span as long as 22 years. When necessary, the report has drawn on other data sources, including newspaper polling results. Opinions are given in five sections: (1) economics; (2) social; (3) politics; (4) racial attitudes; and (5) views on the role of the government. The educational researcher finds some opinions of education particularly interesting. For example, a majority of Americans favor the Supreme Court's banning of school prayer, but there are differences between blacks and whites about the ban. Support for the ban among African Americans has consistently been weaker than among whites. By 1984, support had fallen to as low as 18%. Another social issue discussed is the busing of children from one school district to another. White support for busing was generally weak in the 1970s, but rose in the 1980s, to a peak of 30% in 1991. African American support for busing has hovered between 50 and 60%, but appears to have leveled at slightly less than 60% since 1990. Related to the field of education is the belief of more than three-quarters of whites and 82% of blacks that differences in income, jobs, and housing between these ethnic groups is not due to blacks having less inborn ability to learn. However, evidence from the survey indicates that historically a majority of white Americans does not agree that the Federal Government has a special obligation to African Americans because of past discrimination. Blacks support, although not by a wide margin, the idea that the government does owe a special debt to African Americans. Appendixes contain seven tables of supplemental information about survey responses and other data. (Contains 28 figures.) (SLD)

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DIFFERENCES IN BLACK AND WHITE OPINION ON IMPORTANT ISSUES OF PUBLIC POLICY

THE CENTER FOR NEW BLACK LEADERSHIP
Washington DC.

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INTRODUCTION

Race remains among the most vexing issues in America. It has a bearing on all aspects of American life, from politics to economics, to news analysis and policy debates. Several programs introduced in the past to engender racial harmony have become subjects of considerable debate and disagreement and important "events" such as the O.J. Simpson case, the Rodney King Verdict and the Million March time and again serve to remind us of how far apart black and white Americans are on some important issues. Polls taken in the immediate aftermath of these events inform us of how poor race relations are. For example a November 16, 1992 poll reported in the Los Angeles Times showed 42% of blacks and 42% of whites responding that race relations were poor. Yet that same poll showed that 62% of black and 61% of white Los Angelenos wouldn't care if "someone in their family married a person from a different racial or ethnic background". Survey evidence reported by The Times Mirror Center[1] shows a growing acceptance by whites that it is "alright for blacks and whites to date each other" (See Appendix 1). The percentage of whites agreeing rose from 43% in 1987 to 65% in 1994. The comparable numbers for blacks were 72% and 88% . Other polls (The USA Today Poll of March 17, 1992 and the LA Times

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[1]The People, The Press and Politics: The New Political Landscape: Times Mirror Center for The People and The Press. October 1994.

op cit) report similar findings.

Nonetheless, the differences in black-white reactions to the recent events and the tenor of political debates on important issues that bear directly on racial harmony and understanding in this country compellingly require a fresh look at race. Efforts have been initiated in that direction. These efforts are aimed at deepening our understanding of the nature of race with a view to suggesting new approaches for tackling the problem. However, for those efforts to result in useful outcomes, it is necessary to understand what blacks and whites think about key issues of policy debate in this country, so as to isolate areas of agreement among the races and to identify those areas in which disagreement persists.

That is what this report seeks to accomplish. Drawing mainly on cross-tabulations of some variables from the General Social Survey made available to us by the Roper Center For Public Opinion Research at the University of Connecticut at Storrs, it reports black and white Americans' opinion on key issues of policy debate in the country (over a twenty-two year period in some cases). Where necessary, this report has also drawn from other sources such as polling results reported by various US newspapers, by the Times Mirror Center for The People and The Press, and the by Foundation for Florida's Future. Unless otherwise stated, survey data in this report are drawn from the General Social Survey. Our principal source, the General Social Survey has canvassed reactions to various sets of issues, including issues on race,

school prayers, the death penalty and assistance to the poor since 1972. The surveys are undertaken every year or two by the National Opinion Research Center in Chicago. All the questions reproduced in this Report are from the General Social Survey. This Report consists of five sections: Economics, Social, Politics, Racial attitudes, and Views on the role of the government.

I. ECONOMIC ISSUES

The ups and downs of the US economy and the rising anxiety over job tenure affects the willingness of all Americans to support increased government expenditures on certain programs. The General Social Survey canvassed the reaction of Americans on government expenditures on welfare, assistance to the poor, taxes and law enforcement.

Question: Are we spending too much, too little, or about right ... on welfare?

Figures 1 and 2 summarize responses to this question. We focus only on "too little" and "too much". The percentage of blacks agreeing that too little is being spent on

welfare has generally been high. In 1973, 55% of blacks agreed. However, support for this (the "too little" view) has been falling among blacks. In 1994, only 30% agreed that the welfare system is under-funded. Whites on the other hand have generally not agreed that expenditures on welfare were too little. At its peak in 1975 and 1988, only a quarter of whites interviewed agreed and in 1994, only 10% of white respondents supported the view that welfare expenditures were too little. Conversely, the percentage of both whites and blacks responding that "too much" was being spent on welfare has risen since 1991. For whites, the percentage believing welfare expenditures to be too great reached 65 percent in 1994, after declining for much of the 70s and 80s. And for blacks, that number rose to an all-time high of 45 percent in 1993, after flattening out around 20% for much of the 1970's and 80's. See Figure 2.

However, African-American support for welfare expenditures is not unqualified. For example, the Foundation for Florida's Future survey of black Floridians reported that "fully 70% of blacks believe that the welfare system has turned into just another kind of slavery." Furthermore, "68% of blacks surveyed support cutting off welfare benefits to able-bodied individuals if they have not found a job after 2 years."

Question: Are we spending too much, too little, or about right .. on assistance to the poor?

It is interesting to observe that Americans, black and white, appear more willing to see the government provide "assistance to the poor" than to spend resources on "welfare," as Figures 3 and 4 demonstrate. For both blacks and whites, a majority agree that too little is being spent on "assistance to the poor" whereas fewer are willing to say that too little is being spent on "welfare." It is worth noting here that the views of blacks and whites on "assistance to the poor" appears to have diverged remarkably beginning in 1990. Before that year, the percentage of blacks surveyed who agreed that "too little" resources were spent on the poor peaked at 86.8%. It fell sharply to 75% in 1991 and began an upward trend in 1991 and returned to its previous peak of 86% in 1994. During this same period, there appears to have been an erosion of support for "assistance to the poor" among white Americans. After rising in the early 1980s, white Americans' support has been declining since 1987, falling sharply from 65% in that year to 51% in 1994.

Question: Do you think that the government in Washington ought to reduce the income differences between the rich and the poor, perhaps by raising the taxes of wealthy families or by giving income assistance to the poor?

Responses to this question are summarized in Figure 5. More black Americans "think that the government in Washington ought to reduce income differences...by giving assistance to the poor". However, the percentage of blacks agreeing with the question has fallen since 1990 and appears to have stabilized around 45% in the first half of

the 1990s. The percentage of whites agreeing, which never exceeded 30% at its peak in 1984 and 1992, has fallen to 20% in 1994.

Question: Do you consider the amount of federal income tax which you have to pay as too high, about right, or too low?

Evidence on the attitude of whites and blacks to federal income taxes is summarized in Figure 6. A majority of Americans, blacks and whites, regard the Federal income tax that they "pay as too high", blacks more so than whites. Anti-tax feelings appear to have been highest in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Although this feeling appears to have abated somewhat in the late 1980s, when less than three-fifths (54%) considered their taxes too high, it has been rising once again. In 1994, 70% of blacks and 62% of whites responding thought their Federal income tax as "too high".

II. SOCIAL ISSUES:

The General Social Survey also canvassed black and white opinion on important social issues, such as crime control, sentencing of convicted criminals, abortion, and prayers in school.

Crime:

Although recent evidence released by the FBI shows a consistent decline in the crime rate nation wide[2], Americans continue to mention crime as one of their major fears. This fear has crystallized in calls for, among other things, tougher sentences. Several questions were asked in the General Social Survey on this subject.

Question: Is there any area right around here where you would be afraid to walk alone at night?

Responses to this question are summarized in Figure 7. There are significant differences in responses to this question between blacks and whites. Except for 1976 and 1987, a majority of blacks agreed that "there were places where they were afraid to walk alone at night". The percentage of blacks expressing this fear has risen from a little under 55% in 1973 to 57% in 1994. About 45% of whites shared this fear in 1994.

One of the lasting impacts of the O.J. Simpson case and the Rodney King verdict is that they painted in broad relief the conflicting images of the criminal justice system - the courts and the police - among blacks and whites. Several polls

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[2]The Economist, Jan. 6, 1996; The Atlantic Monthly, March, 1995

undertaken by various newspapers showed that blacks and whites differ in their assessment of the police and the sentences passed by the courts. For example, the St. Petersburg Times of Florida found that 49% of blacks surveyed believed whites get better treatment before the courts and in the hands of the police. Only 22% of whites believed so. More striking from the survey was the finding that while 50% of whites believed that the police and the courts treated blacks and whites equally, only 29% of blacks believed so.

These differences are also reflected in the view of blacks and whites on the severity of punishment for convicted criminals collected in the General Social Surveys. In the Survey, the following question was asked:

Question: In general, do you think the courts in this area deal too harshly or not harshly enough with criminals?

The evidence is summarized in Figure 8. Overall, more blacks than whites appear to think that the courts are too harsh; significantly, however, the percentage of blacks holding that view has fallen consistently since 1972. In that year, close to 18% of blacks interviewed agreed with that view. In 1994, only 6% thought so. White Americans too, though in greater numbers, believe that the courts are too lenient with convicted criminals. In 1974 5% thought the courts were too harsh. In 1994, only 2% thought so.

Question: Are we spending too much, too little, or about right .. on halting the rising crime rate?

The evidence on expenditures to "halt the rising crime rate" is summarized in Figure 9. A majority of blacks and whites agree that too little is being spent on combating crime. However, a greater percentage of blacks than whites agrees with this view. In 1994, 80% of blacks surveyed agreed against 75% of whites. Similar evidence was found in a survey of black and white Floridians conducted by the St. Petersburg Times, Tampa, Florida[3]. That survey not only found that 72% of black Floridians and 70% of white Floridians worried frequently about crime but that 30% of whites and 44% of blacks were willing to pay an additional 50 dollars in taxes to fight crime.

Question: Are we spending too much, too little, or about right .. on law enforcement?

The survey also sought to collect information on what blacks and whites thought about expenditures on law enforcement. This evidence is summarized in Figure 10. More than 60% of whites and blacks agreed in 1994 that the government was spending too little on law enforcement. Historically, however, a greater percentage of blacks than whites had expressed that view.

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[3]October 31, 1993

Question: Do you favor or oppose the death penalty for persons convicted of murder?

Though support for the death penalty has generally risen over the last 20 years, views on the death penalty remain sharply divided across racial lines, with fewer blacks than whites supporting it. Between 1974 and 1994, the proportion of whites favoring the death penalty rose from 63% to 78% (See Figure 11). Among African-Americans, the proportion in favor of the death penalty reached and exceeded the 50% for the first time in 1990. It is, however, significant to note that majorities of both black and white Americans favor capital punishment for persons convicted of murder.

Question: What are your views on the US Supreme court decision barring prayers in public schools?

In the 1962 case of *Engel v. Vitale*, the U.S. Supreme Court held that the use of public schools to encourage prayer was "a practice wholly inconsistent with the [First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution]." While a majority of Americans reject the Court's banning of school prayer, there are differences among blacks and whites in attitudes towards the ban. Support for the ban among African Americans has consistently been weaker than among whites. Moreover, as is demonstrated in Figure 12, support for the ban has ebbed considerably among blacks, having fallen to 18% in

1994. Weak black support for the ban was also found in the Survey conducted by the Foundation for Florida's Future. According to that survey, 84% (71% strongly agreed) of black Floridians support the view that there should be a constitutional amendment allowing prayers in school. Among whites, between 1974 and 1994, support rose from 32% in 1974 to 45% in 1985 but has fallen to 40% in 1994.

Question: Do you favor or oppose the busing of black and white school children from one district to another?

One of the main social experiments of the civil rights era was integration of schools by means of busing pupils from one school district to another. Responses to this question in the General Social Survey are summarized in Figure 13. White support for busing was generally weak in the 1970s (about 12% in 1972), but began to rise in 1982 peaking at 30% in 1991. African-American support for busing has hovered between 50 and 60% although it appears to have leveled at slightly less than 60% since 1990.

Question: Do you think that it should be legal for a pregnant woman to obtain a legal abortion if :

a) there is a strong chance of serious defect in the baby;
b)she is married and does not want any more children;
c) the woman's health is seriously endangered by the pregnancy;
d) the family has a very low income and cannot afford anymore children;
e) pregnancy is as a result of rape;

f) she is married and does not want to marry the man;
g) woman wants it for any reason?

Abortion remains one of the most divisive issues in US politics today. Responses to questions on abortion are summarized in Figures 14 - 20. On the whole, African-Americans are less supportive of abortion than are white Americans. Generally, a majority of blacks and whites support abortion in three circumstances: 1.) if there is a strong chance of serious defect in the baby; 2.) if the pregnancy endangers the health of the woman; and 3.) if the pregnancy is a result of rape. Support for abortion is weakest where there are 1.) chances of serious defects in the baby, or 2.) if the woman just wants it for any reason.

III. POLITICAL PROCESS

One of the most widely reported and discussed subjects in American politics is the public's disenchantment with, and anger at, its elected officials. The Times Mirror survey reported that the percentage of all Americans agreeing that "most elected officials care what people like me think" fell from 47% in 1987 to 33% in 1994. In the General Social Survey, the following question was asked:

Question: Do you agree that most public officials are not really interested in the problems of the

average man?

More than three-quarters of blacks and more than 60% (see Figure 21) of whites believe that most public officials cared very little about the problems of the average man. It is interesting to note that black and white opinion on this issue appears to have converged in the first half of the 1990s.

IV. RACIAL ATTITUDES

Evidence from numerous sources show that there are also enormous race disparities in wealth and income. For example, recent evidence from the Health and Retirement Study shows that for every dollar of wealth that a middle-aged white household has, a black household has 27 cents. The median black household has only $400 in financial assets[4]. Understanding the sources of this gap with a view to informing policy debates has for some time been a priority for social scientists and political leaders.

The General Social Survey asks questions seeking to discern Americans' opinions of the sources of these differences and how they might be reduced. There are significant differences between black and white opinion of what the sources of the

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[4]Smith, J. P. 1995. "Racial and Ethnic Differences in Wealth." The Journal of Human Resources Vol. 30 Supplement 1995 pp S158 - S183.

racial wealth and income differences are thought to be. For most blacks, discrimination is the dominant explanation; while for whites, it is the "lack of motivation on the part of blacks to get out of poverty".

Question: Do you think blacks have worse jobs, income, and housing mainly because of discrimination?

Figure 22 presents the evidence on this question. Between 70 and 80% of blacks agree that "income, job and housing differences" between blacks and whites are due to discrimination. Approximately 30% of white respondents agreed with this view in 1994, a 5% decline from 1985.

Question: Do you think blacks have worse jobs, income, and housing because most blacks have less in-born ability to learn?

Responses to this question are summarized in Figure 23. More than three quarters of whites and approximately 82% of blacks believe that white-black income, jobs and housing differences are *not* due to blacks having "less in-born ability to learn."

Question: Do you think blacks have worse jobs, income, and housing because most don't have the chance for the education it takes to rise out of poverty?

A plurality of African Americans (more than 60% see Figure 24) consistently believe

that the lack of an opportunity for education accounts for the wealth gap between the races. In the period under analysis, approximately 50% of white Americans consistently share this view. It bears emphasis, however, that the divergence of views among races on this issue is small--reflecting that a consensus is emerging that improved access to quality education is one policy prescription that might be used to reduce the racial income differences.

Question: Do you think blacks have worse jobs, income, and housing because most blacks have no motivation or will-power to pull themselves out of poverty?

A majority of whites surveyed believe that the differences in wealth, income and jobs between blacks and whites derive from a "lack of motivation among blacks to get out of poverty." As Figure 25 shows, in 1994, slightly more than 50% of whites thought so. Among African Americans, the percentage agreeing with this explanation is smaller, but not insignificant. In 1994, only 30% of blacks thought so.

V. VIEWS ON THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT

Question: Do you think that the Federal Government should do everything possible to improve the standard of living of all poor Americans?

As Figure 26 shows, 58% of blacks in 1983 agreed that the government should do everything possible to improve living standards for all. However, the proportion of blacks agreeing began to fall beginning in 1990 and in 1994, to slightly less than 50%. Whites, however, appear to have less faith in the government. It has consistently been less than 30%. It is instructive to note from the figure that the gap between blacks and whites on this issue has remained very wide. Almost twice as many blacks as whites consistently believe that the government should do everything possible to improve living standards.

Health care in 1992 -93 topped the list of issues of concern to all Americans, black and white. Among Floridians surveyed by the St. Petersburg Times, 53% of whites and 61% of blacks frequently worried about the "high cost of hospitals or nursing care". The General Social Survey asked :

Question: Do you think that it is the responsibility of the Federal Government to see to it that people have help in paying for doctors and hospital bills?

In 1983, approximately 42% (Figure 27) of white respondents agreed with this suggestion, against 64% of African-Americans. There was, however, a narrowing of differences on this issue between 1989 and 1994. However, the divergence in black - white views on the Federal Government's involvement in paying for health care

increased in 1994 with 73% of African-Americans in support of the notion, against 42% of whites in support.

One of the recurring themes in recent years of public policy discussions in America is the extent to which a debt is owed to African-Americans by the federal Government to remedy past discrimination. These discussions have gained currency in the backdrop of campaigns to reign in racial preference programs in the Federal Government and in some states. A survey of African-American Floridians by the Foundation for Florida's Future found overwhelming support and enthusiasm for affirmative action. That survey also found that 89% of blacks in the country agree that "we wouldn't need affirmative action in this country if the laws against discrimination were better enforced." In a related question, a significant 73% said "it makes me mad that affirmative action policies are needed in this country because that means that I am not being judged on my merits alone." In the Times Mirror surveys, only 25% of whites agreed in 1994 with the suggestion that "efforts should be made to improve the position of blacks and minorities, even if it means giving them preferential treatment." However, the responses to these questions resist comparison, in so far as the respondents may have imputed different meanings to the terms "affirmative action" (in the questions directed to blacks) and "preferential treatment" (in the question directed to whites). The General Social Survey has also

followed black - white opinion on this issue. It asked:

Question: Do you think that the Federal Government owes a special obligation to African-Americans due to past discrimination?

The evidence from the Survey, summarized in Figure 28, suggests that historically, a majority of white Americans do not agree that the Federal Government has a special obligation to African-Americans because of past discrimination. The greatest support this view has enjoyed among whites was 15% in 1987. A plurality of blacks, on the other hand, support the notion of a Governmental obligation, although not by a wide margin. On average, a slim majority of 55% of African-Americans surveyed strongly agreed with the notion that the Federal Government owed a special debt to blacks due to past discrimination.

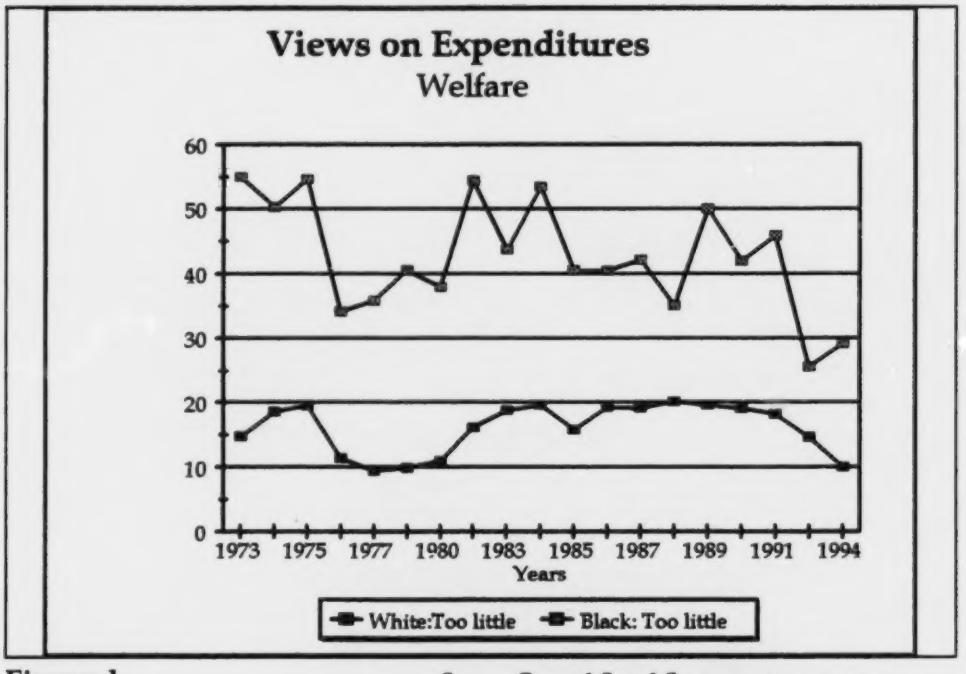

Figure 1 *Source: General Social Survey various years*

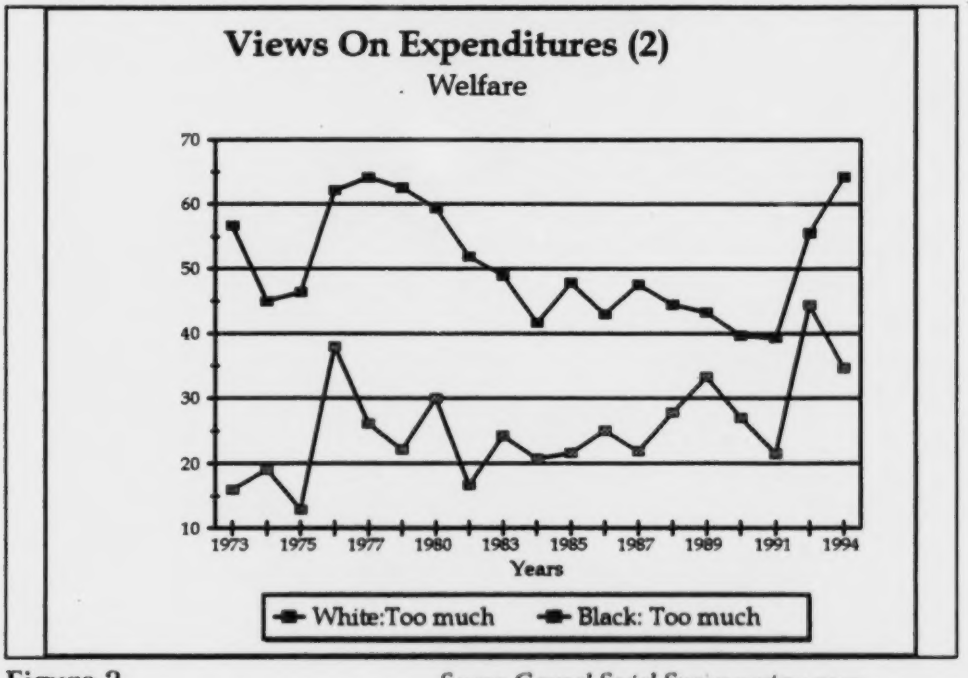

Figure 2 *Source: General Social Survey various years*

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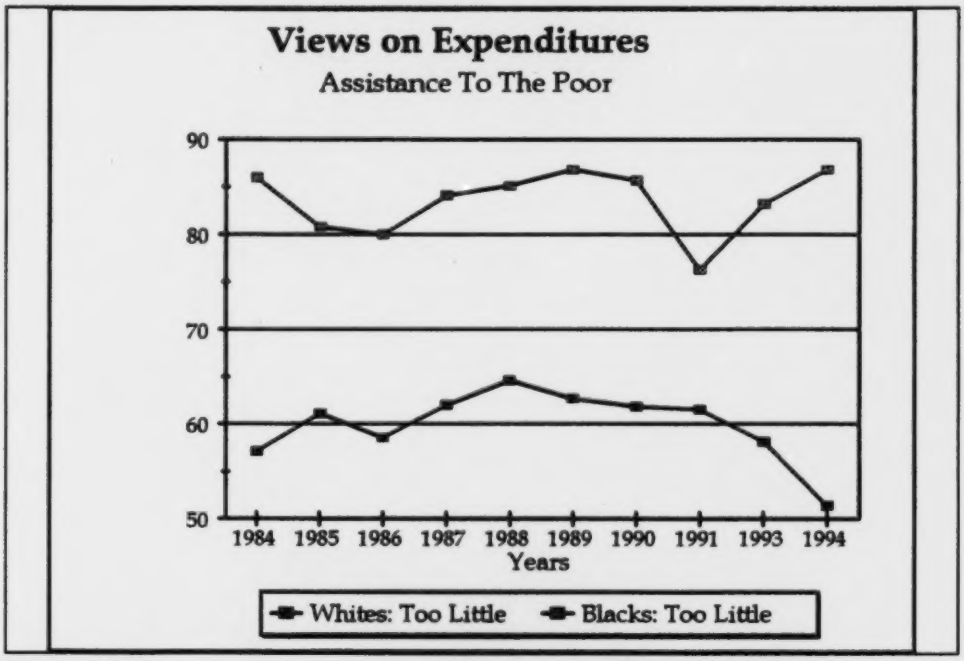

Figure 4 *Source: General Social Survey various years*

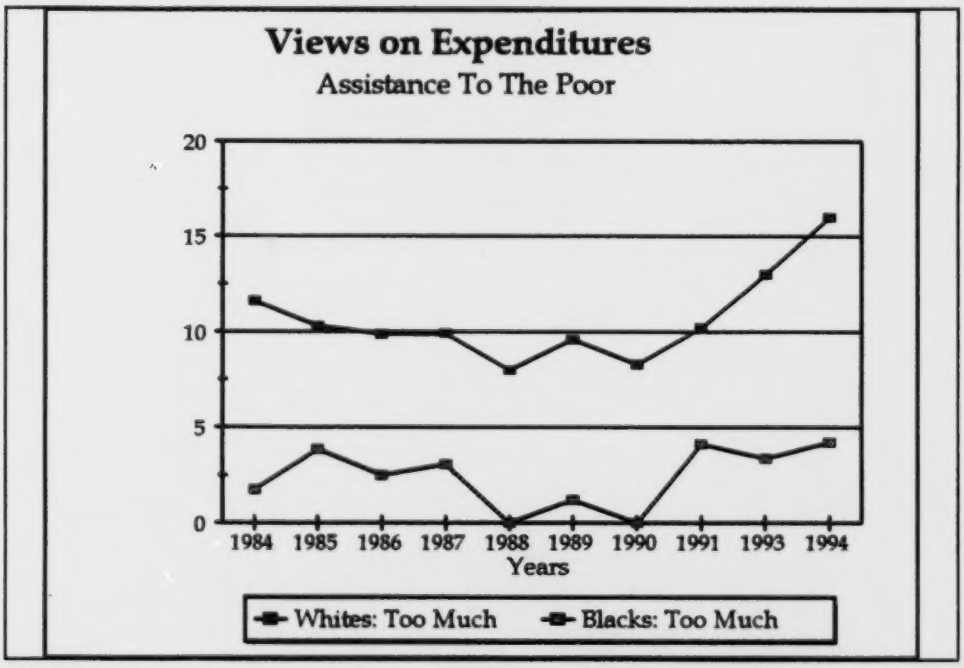

Figure 3 *Source: General Social Survey various years*

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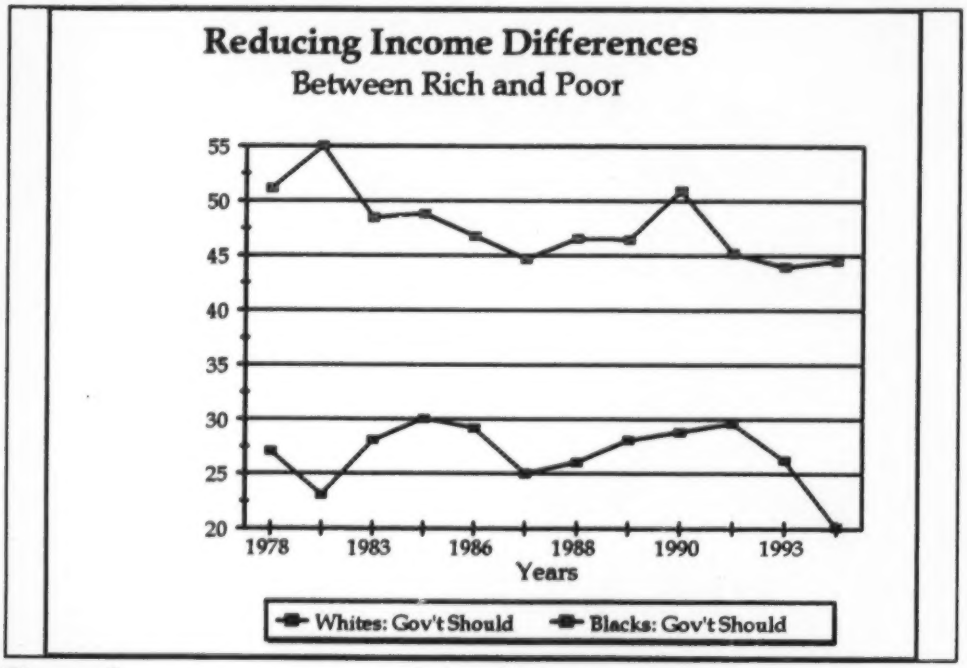

Figure 5 *Source: General Social Survey various years*

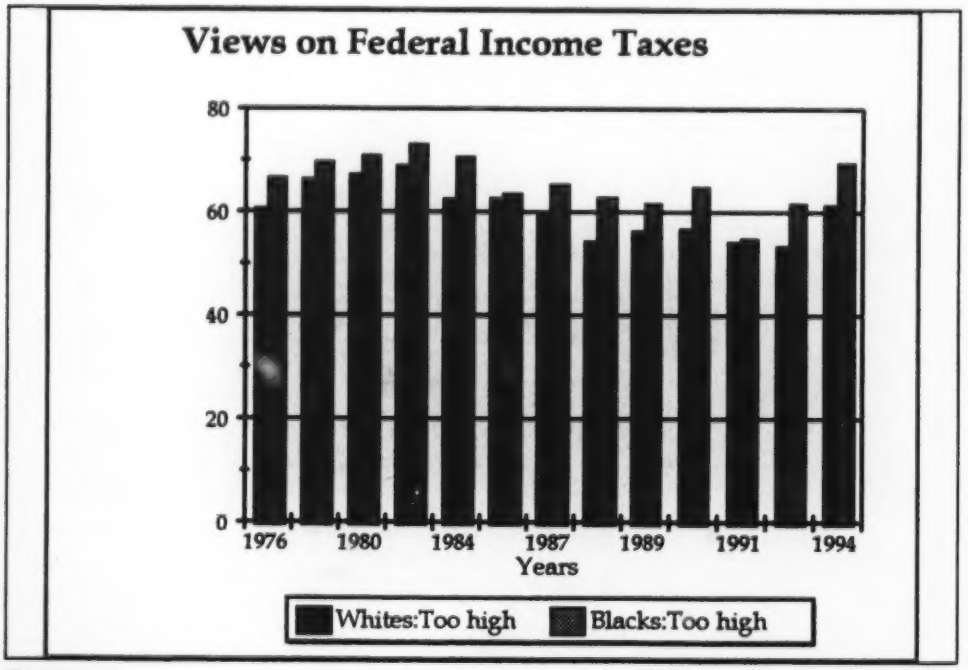

Figure 6 *Source: General Social Survey various years*

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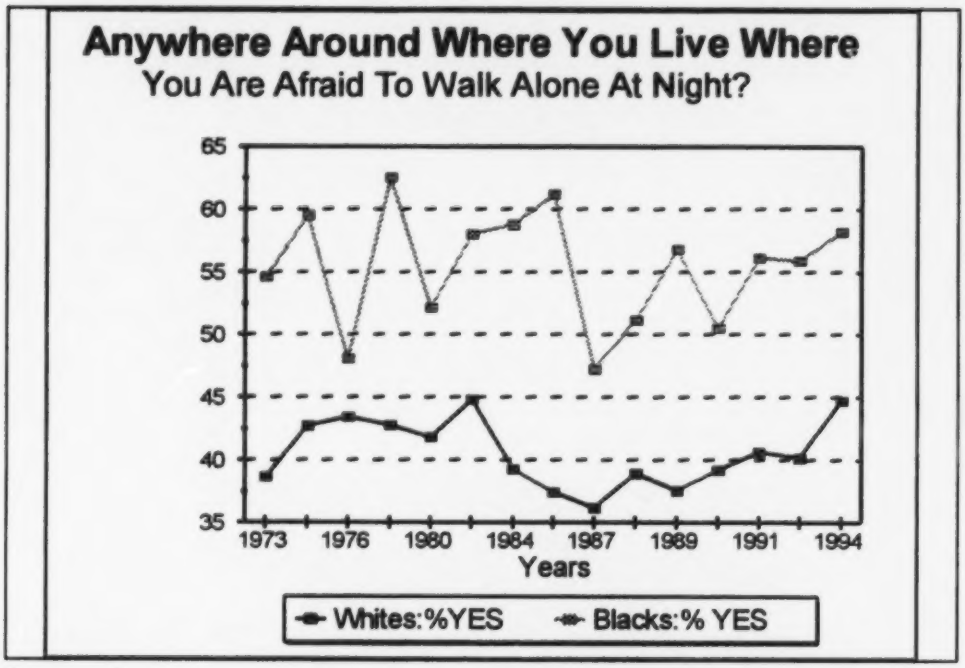

Figure 7 *Source: General Social Survey various years*

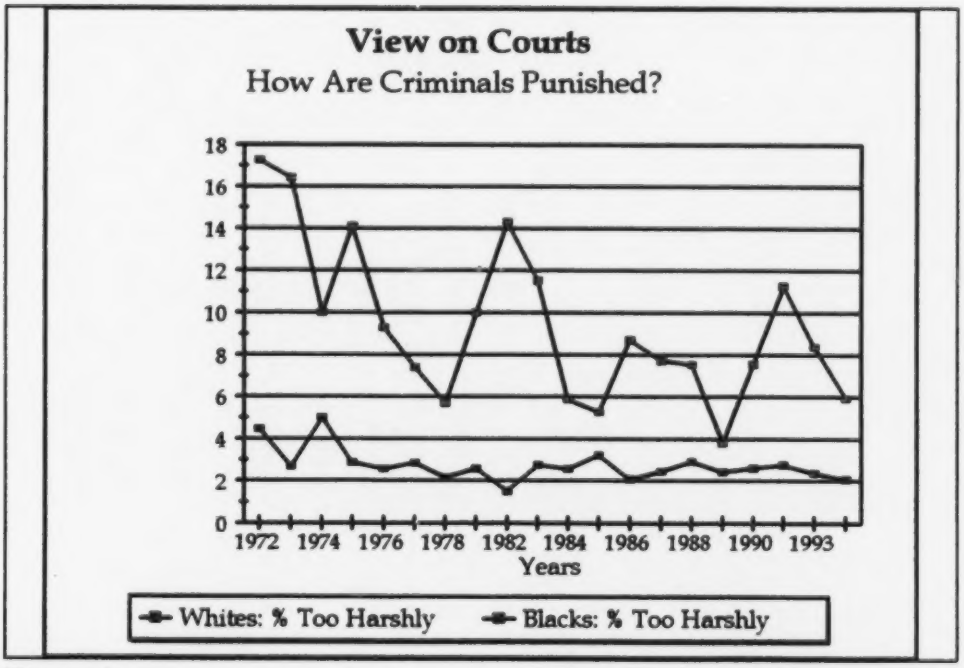

Figure 8 *Source: General Social Survey various years*

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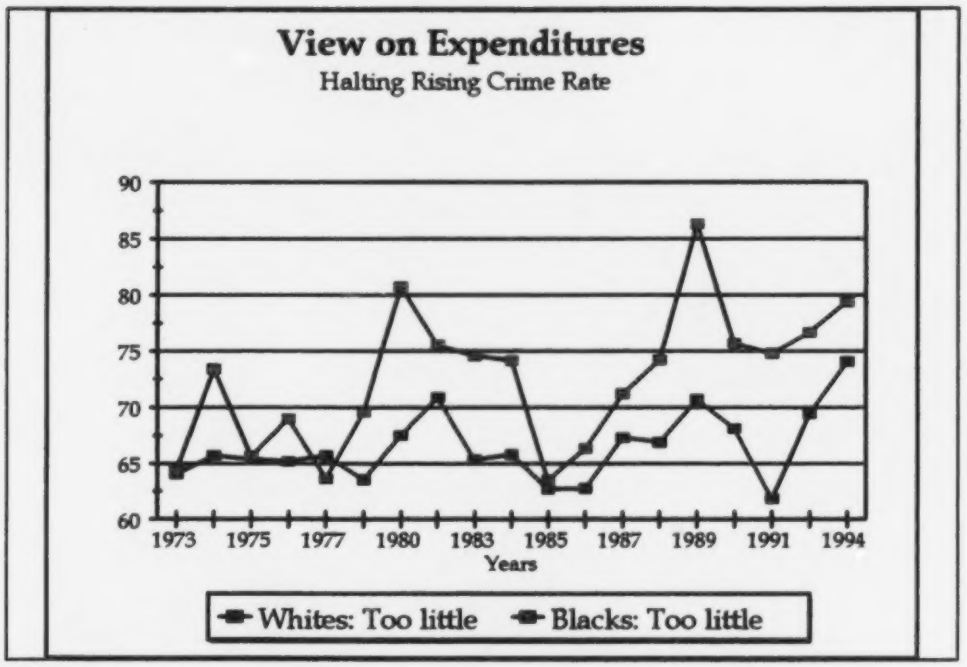

Figure 10 *Source: General Social Survey various years*

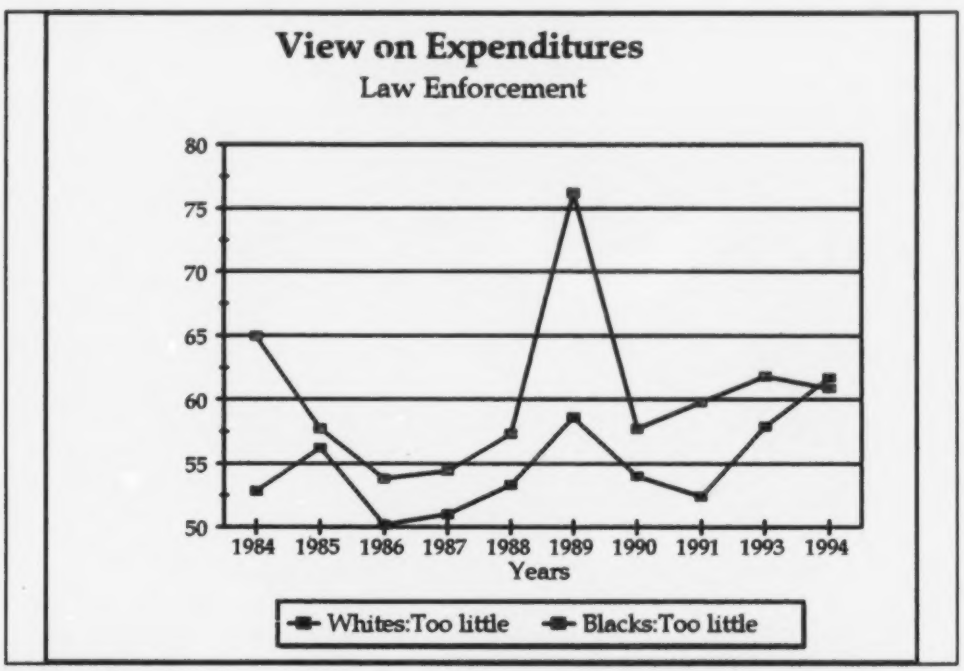

Figure 9 *Source: General Social Survey various years*

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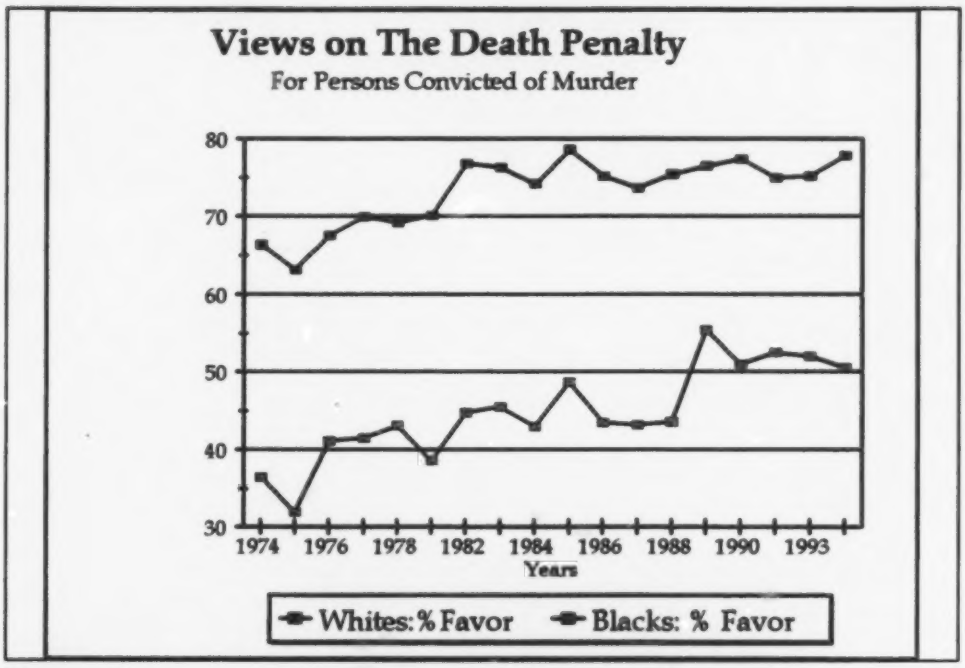

Figure 11 *Source: General Social Survey various years*

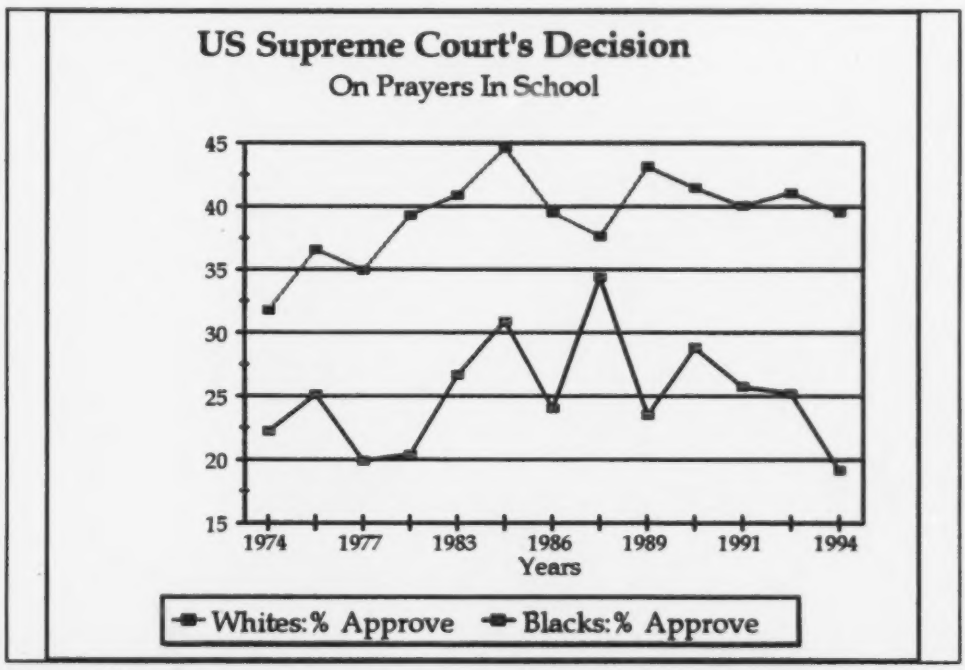

Figure 12 *Source: General Social Survey various years*

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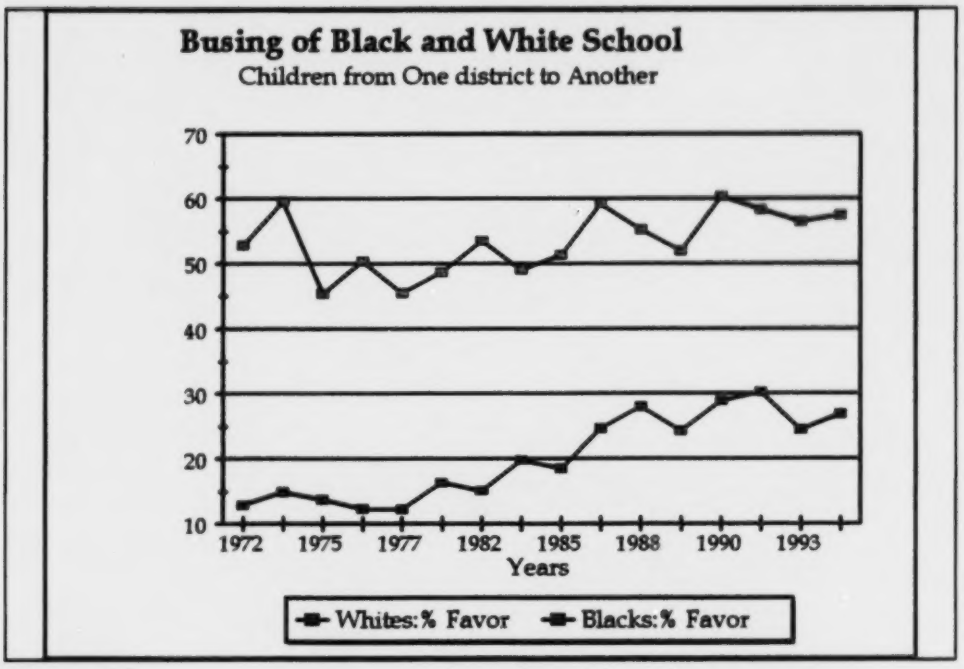

Figure 13 *Source: General Social Survey various years*

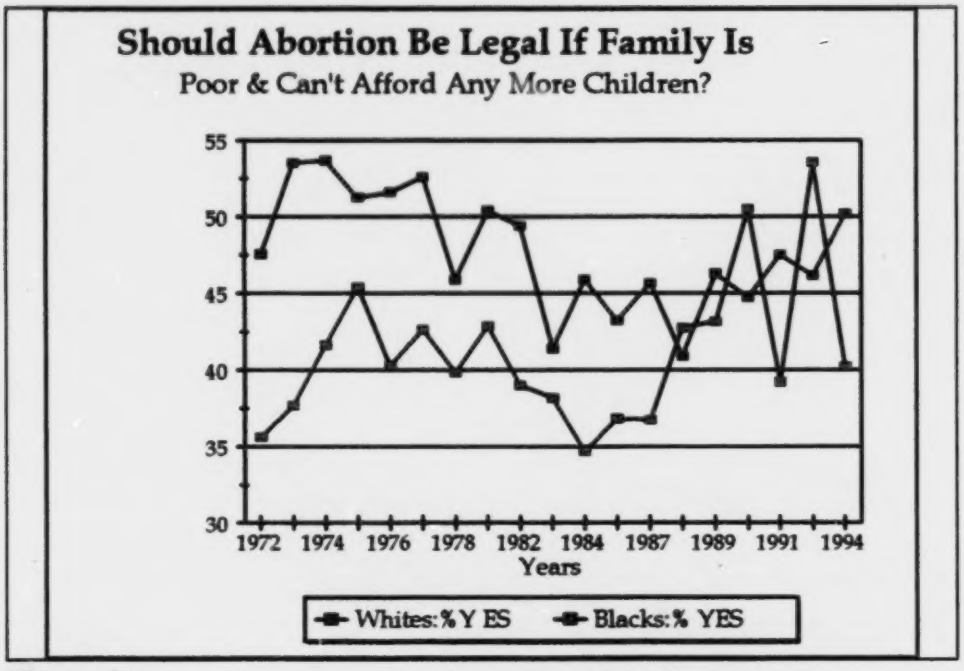

Figure 14 *Source: General Social Survey various years*

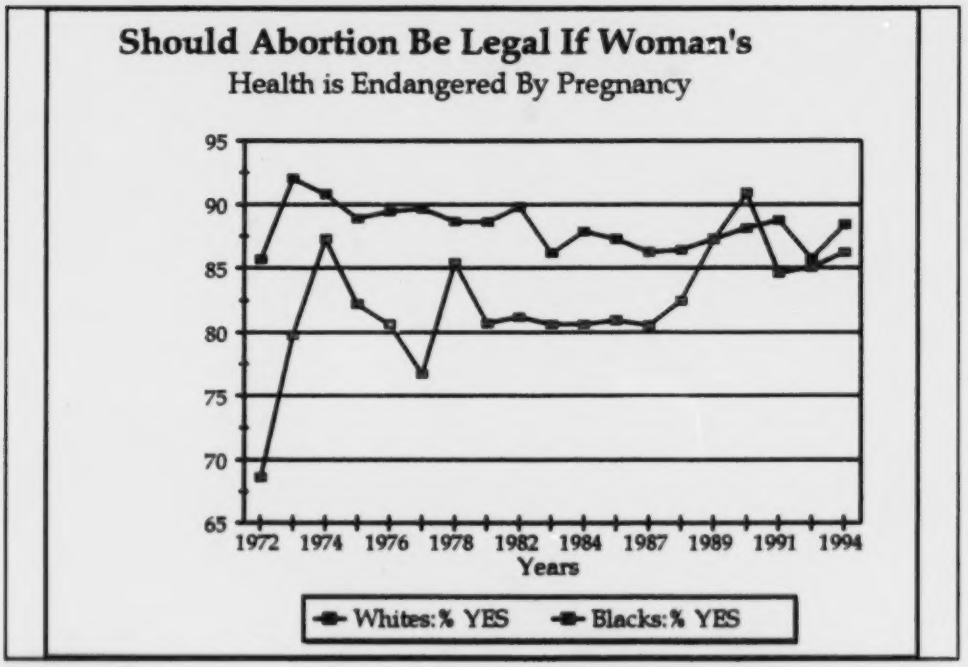

Figure 15 *Source: General Social Survey various years*

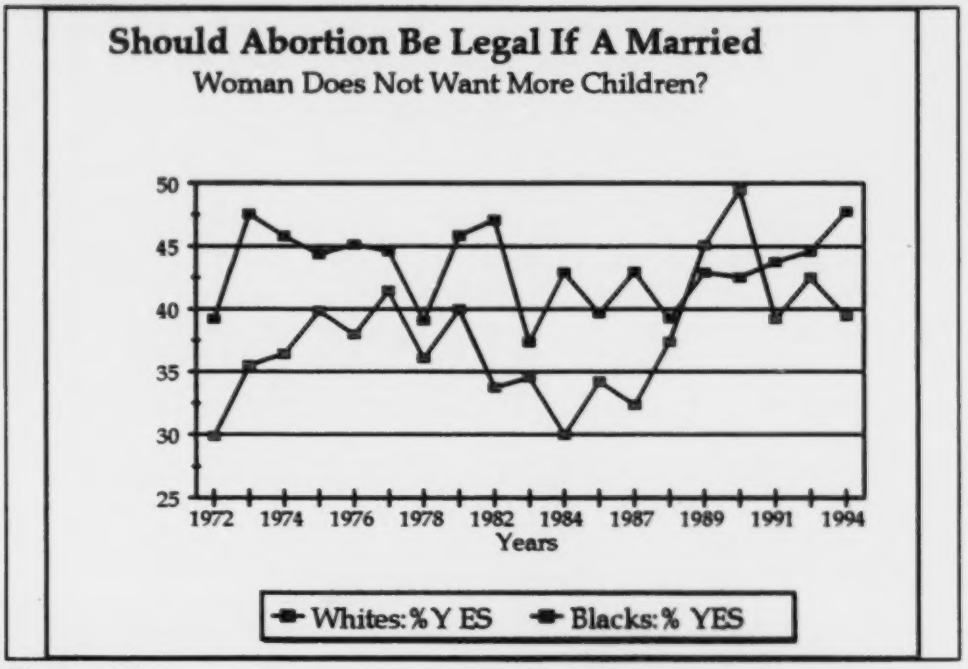

Figure 16 *Source: General Social Survey various years*

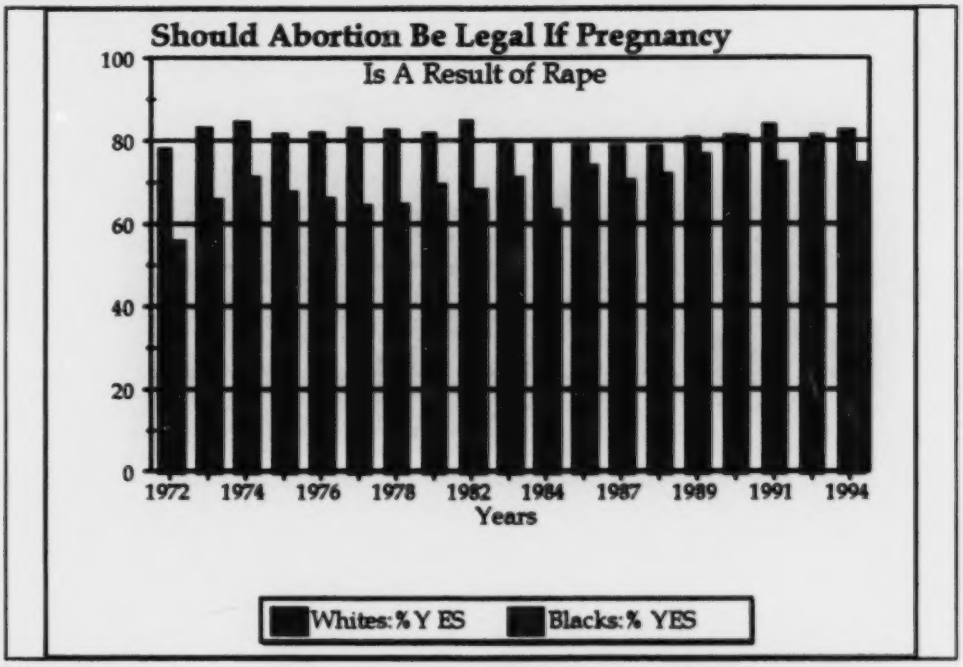

Figure 17 *Source: General Social Survey various years*

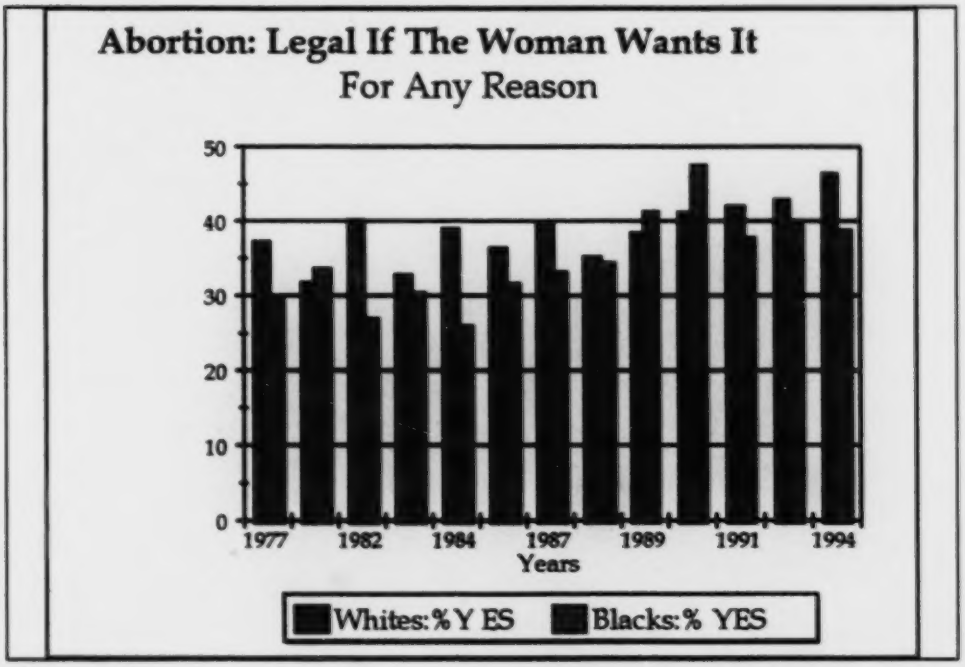

Figure 18 *Source: General Social Survey various years*

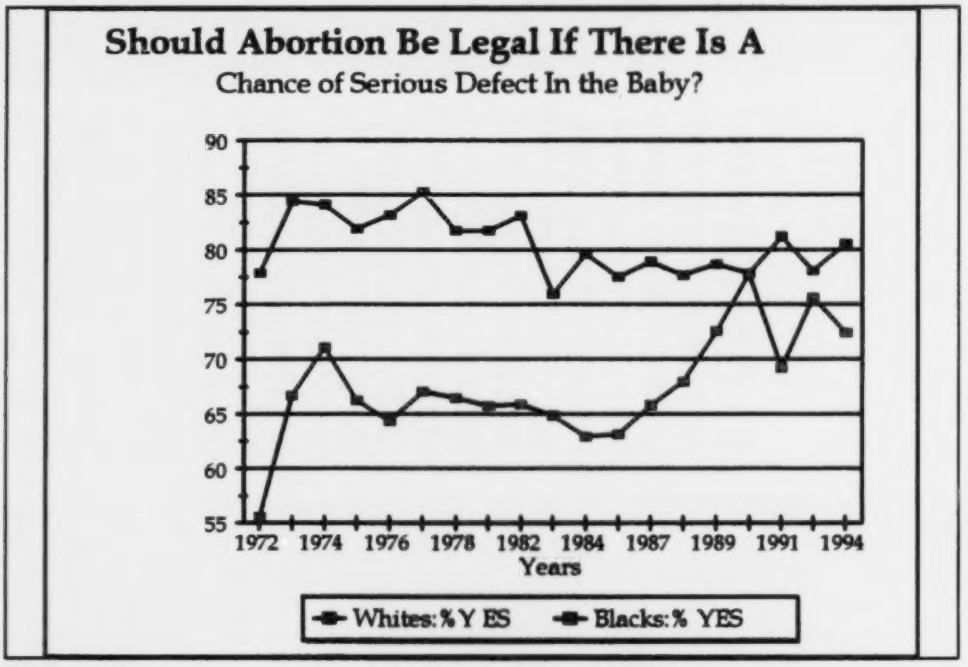

Figure 19 *Source: General Social Survey various years*

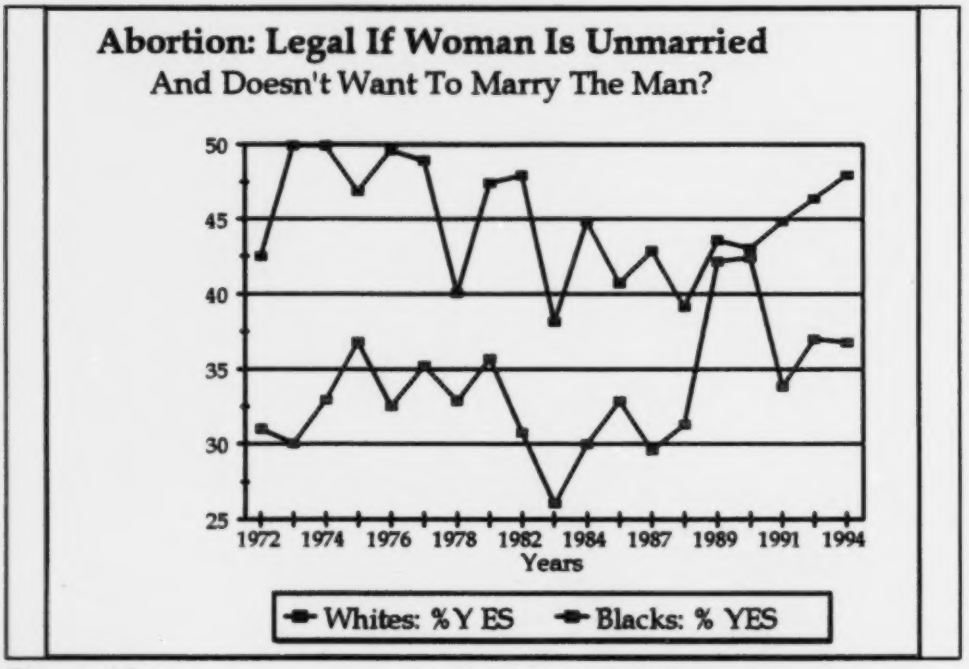

Figure 20 *Source: General Social Survey various years*

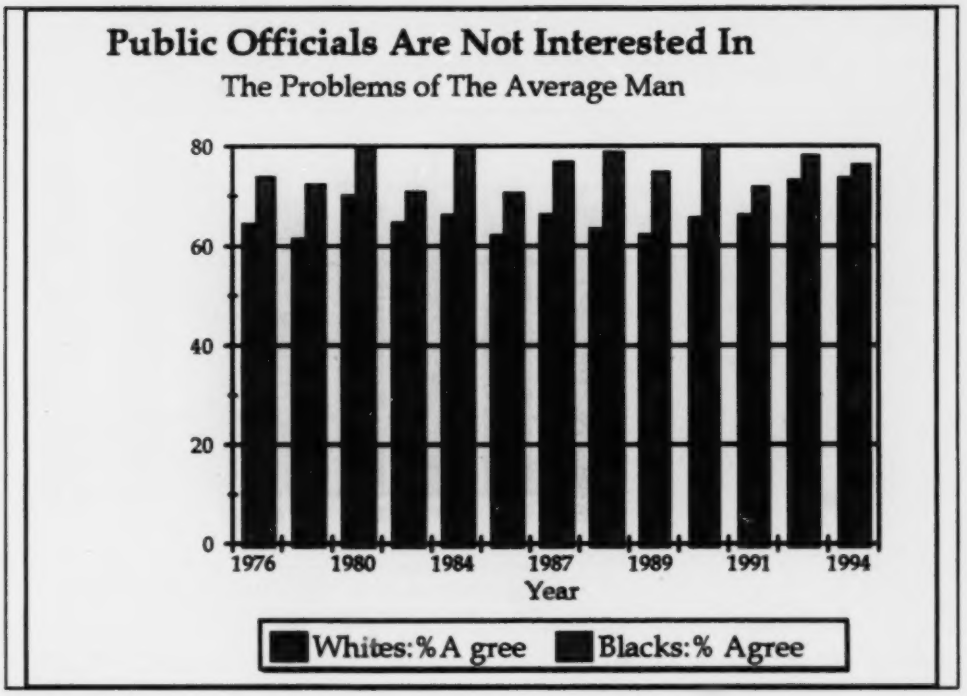

Figure 21 *Source: General Social Survey various years*

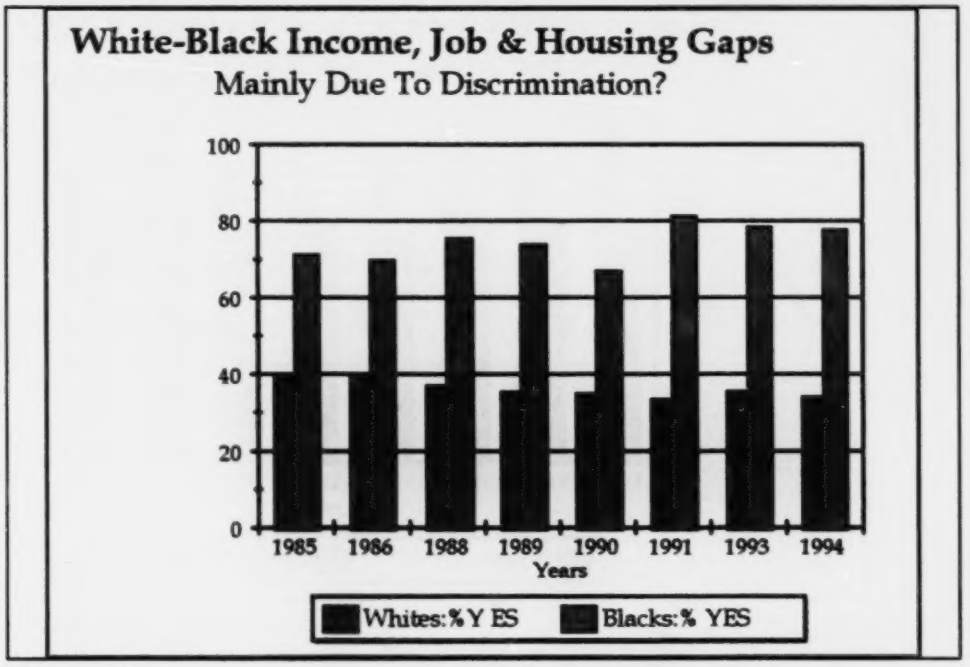

Figure 22 *Source: General Social Survey various years*

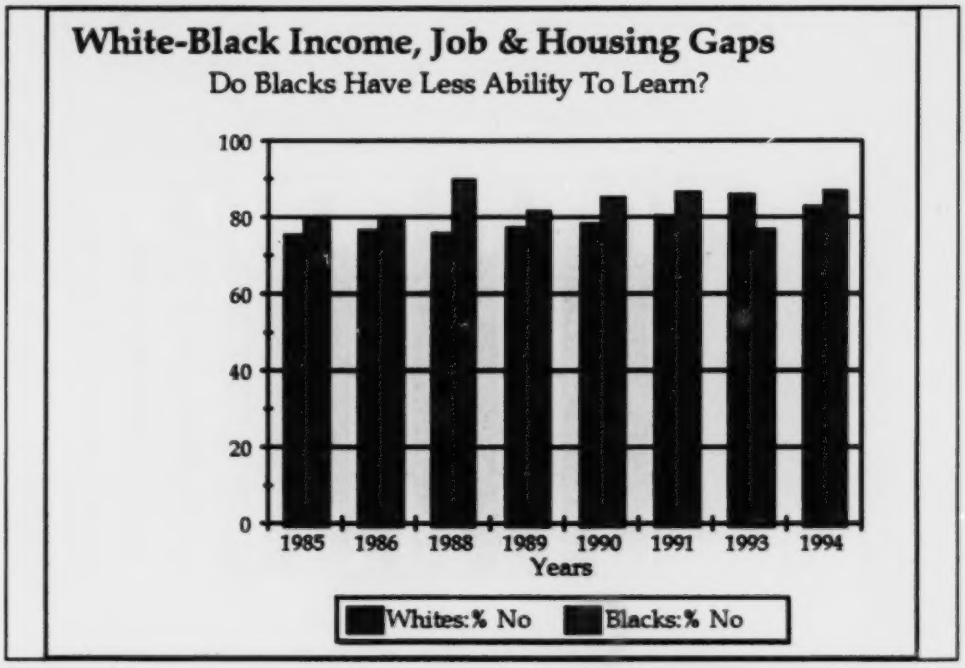

Figure 23 *Source: General Social Survey various years*

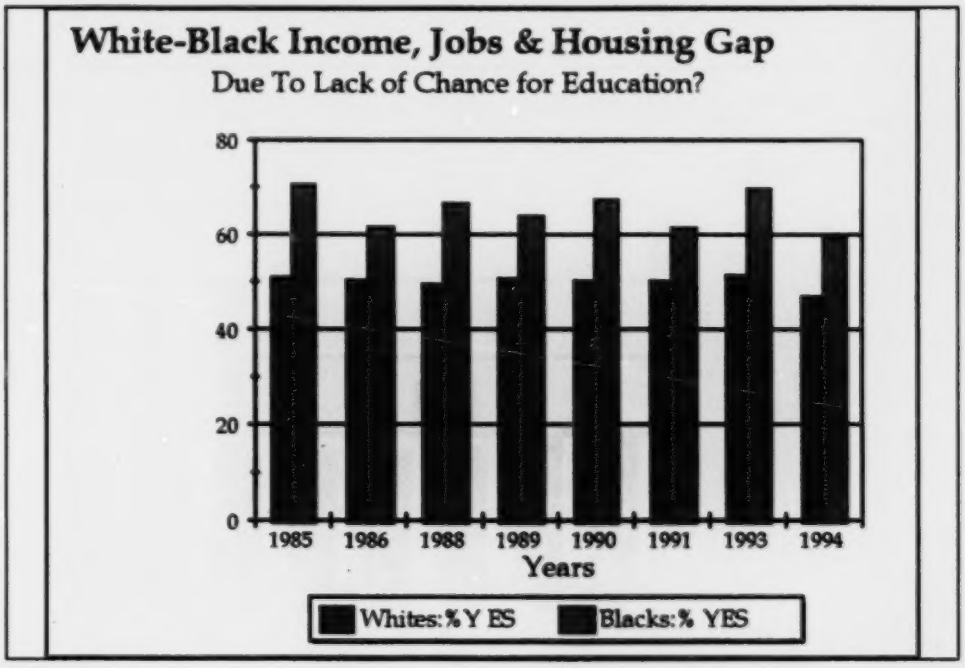

Figure 24 *Source: General Social Survey various years*

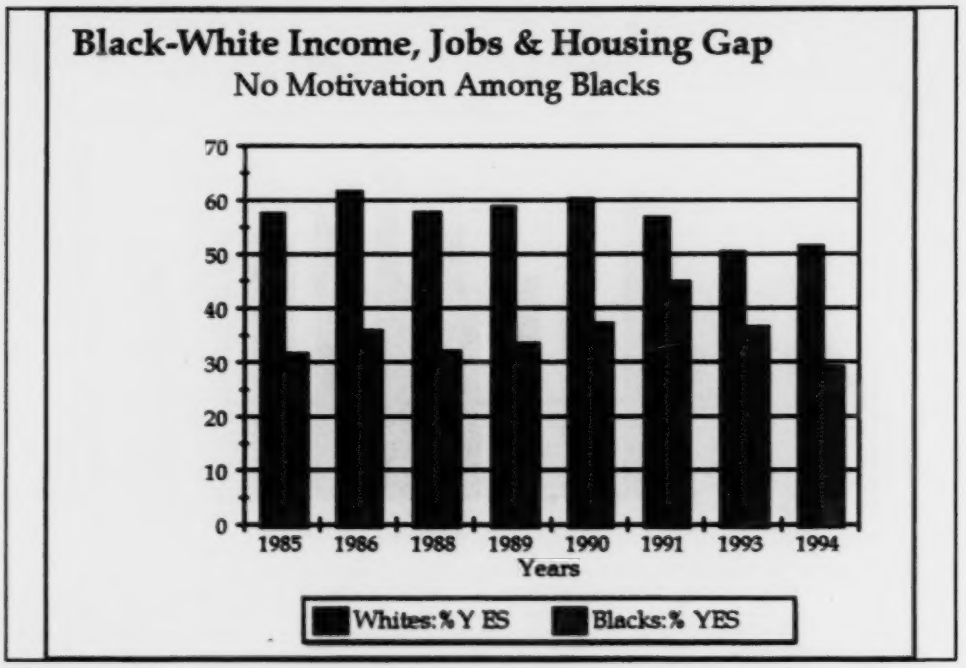

Figure 25 *Source: General Social Survey various years*

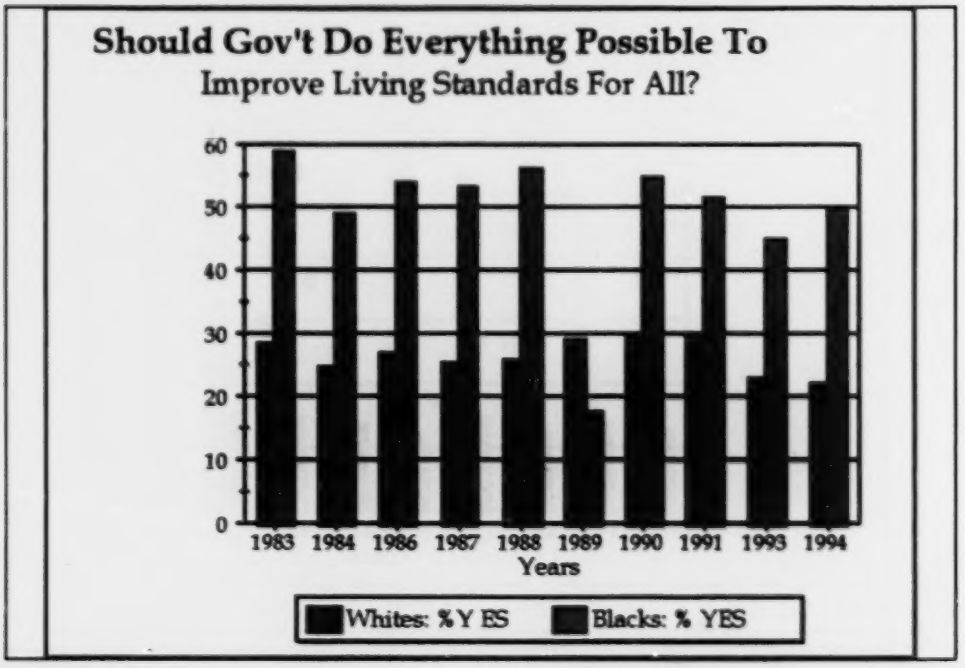

Figure 26 *Source: General Social Survey various years*

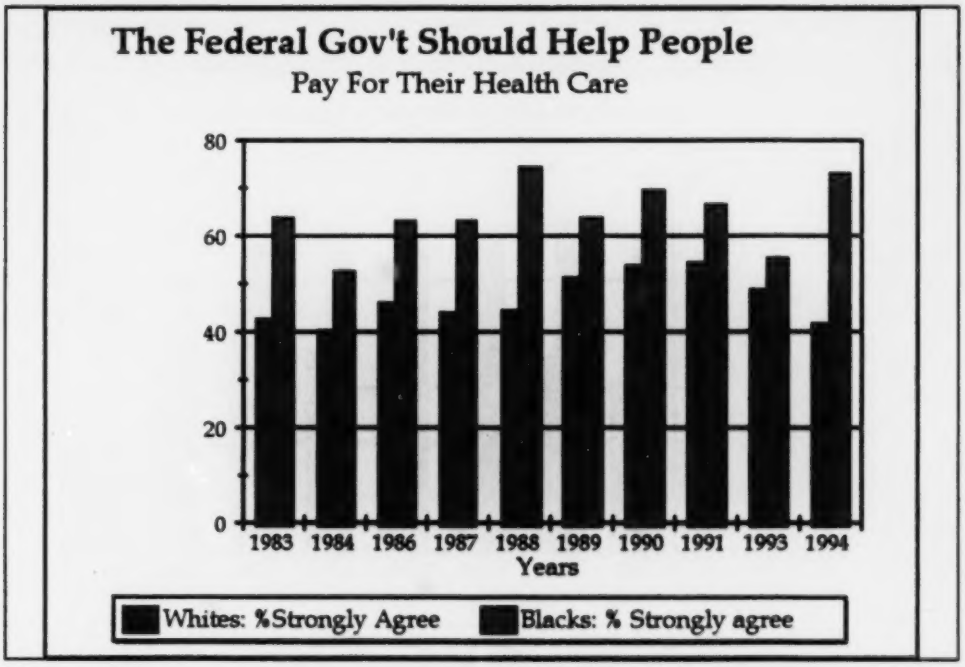

Figure 27 *Source: General Social Survey various years*

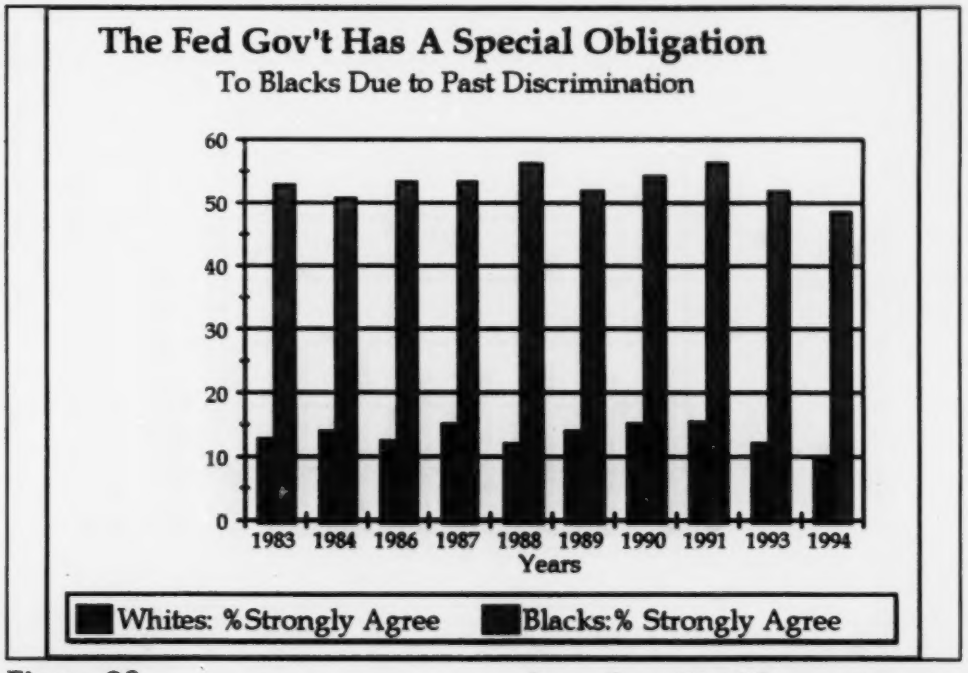

Figure 28 *Source: General Social Survey various years*

APPENDIX 1:
The New Political Landscape: Times Mirror Center for the People and the Press. October, 1994.

Table 1. RACIAL TOLERANCE

	1987		*1988*		*1990*		*1992*		*1994*	
	W	*B*	*W*	*B*	*W*	*B*	*W*	*B*	*W*	*B*
A Gone too far in pushing equal rights										
Agree%	46	16	47	22	45	25	42	21	51	26
Disagree %	49	81	49	76	50	74	55	78	47	74
Don't know%	5	3	4	2	5	1	3	1	2	0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
No real improvement in the position of blacks in the USA										
Agree%	31	69	33	70	33	73	54	82	44	73
Disagree%	63	29	63	28	63	25	42	17	51	27
Don't know%	6	2	4	2	4	2	4	1	5	0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Efforts should be made to improve the position of blacks and minorities even if it means given then preferential treatment.										
Agree	18	64	20	70	17	68	29	67	25	62
Disagree	78	31	77	27	79	31	68	28	73	38
Don't know	4	5	3	3	4	1	3	5	2	*
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Alright for blacks and whites to date each other										
Agree%	43	72	45	78	45	78	61	81	65	88
Disagree%	51	18	50	18	48	19	35	12	32	11
Don't know%	6	10	5	4	7	3	4	7	3	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

N=3,800 adults. W=Whites; B=Blacks.

APPENDIX 2.
Los Angeles Times, November 16, 1992.
(Poll taken after the disturbances that followed the Rodney King verdict.)

Question: How would you rate Race Relations (% responding)

	All	*Anglos*	*Blacks*	*Latinos*	*Asians*
Excellent	1	1	1	-	5
Good	15	12	16	20	20
Not so good	43	42	40	45	53
Poor	39	43	42	35	18
Don't Know	2	2	1	-	4

N= 1,383.

Integration:
Question: Do you live where you live now because you want to be there or more because you have no choice? (% responding)

	All	*Anglos*	*Blacks*	*Latinos*	*Asians*
Want to	56	63	49	50	55
Have no choice	43	35	50	49	44
Don't know	1	2	1	1	1

Interracial Marriages
Question: Would you approve or disapproved if someone in your family married a person of a different racial or ethnic background? (% responding).

	All	*Anglos*	*Blacks*	*Latinos*	*Asians*
Approve	28	22	31	34	24
Wouldn't care	59	61	62	57	64
Disapprove	11	14	6	8	8
Don't know	2	3	1	1	4

Affirmative Action:

Question: Do most white people want to see minorities get a better break, or do they want to keep minorities down, or don't they care? (% responding).

	All	*Anglos*	*Blacks*	*Latinos*	*Asians*
Get a better break	36	49	24	26	29
Keep them down	23	16	33	31	13
Don't care	35	30	38	37	45
Don't know	6	5	5	6	13

APPENDIX 3: USA TODAY Poll of teens, March 17, 1992 (National Survey).

	White %	*Black %*	*Hispanic %*
Have at least One close friend of another race	70	72	81
Approve interracial dating	66	87	83
Never personally been discriminated against	81	58	62
Support special job consideration for minorities	35	60	na
Minorities are discriminated against in jobs and scholarships	34	68	52

N=1,170. teens aged 15 - 24.

APPENDIX 4.

St. Petersburg Times, Tampa Bay Area Florida October 31, 1993. (Sample size: Not given)

Question: How often worry about:

	Frequentl y (All)	*Frequently*		*Occasionally*		*Never*	
		White s	*Blacks*	*White s*	*Blacks*	*White s*	*Blacks*
Crime	59%	70%	72%	23%	21%	7%	7%
Traffic problems	52%	38%	33%	36%	31%	26%	36%
Taxes	54%	40%	43%	34%	28%	26%	28%
Own health or family member's health	59%	42%	45%	39%	30%	19%	25%
Cost of food	54%	28%	48%	45%	35%	27%	17%
High cost of hospitals or nursing care	57%	53%	61%	29%	23%	17%	15%

Question: Who do you think gets better treatment from Police and courts - whites or blacks - or are they treated equally?

	White	*Black*
Whites	22%	49%
Blacks	8%	1%
Equally	50%	29%
Not sure	20%	21%

Question: Want increased funding by the state of Florida.

	White%	*Black %*
Education	31	23
Crime fighting	31	24
Health care	15	15
Creating jobs	19	36
Don't know	4	2

Question: Are you willing to pay more taxes to fight crime?

	White%	*Black%*
Willing $50	30	44
Willing $100	19	11
Willing $500	3	none
Willing, more	4	3
Not willing	32	33
Don't know	12	9

Question: Best way to fight crime:

	White%	*Black%*
Education, social	44	59
More Police	21	19
More prisons	24	16
Not sure	11	6

Question: Do you favor or oppose a law that would prohibit juveniles from possessing any type of gun, except for supervised hunting and target practice?

	White %	*Black%*
Favor	87	79
Opposed	11	19
Not sure	2	6

APPENDIX 5.
Gannet News Service: Michigan Survey, Nov. 7, 1991
Favor Affirmative Action

	Whites	*Blacks*
Results in unfair advantages	47	15
Minorities deserve special help through affirmation employment plans	35	68
Race relations are getting worse	19	44
Black-white relations improving	35	19

N:600 registered voters

APPENDIX 6:
The Courier-Journal, Louisville, April 27, 1992

	Whites %	*Blacks%*
Drugs a major concern	6	36
Public schools have become better	21	32

N = 884 adults in Jefferson, Clark and Floyd counties, KY.

APPENDIX 7: New York Times July, 1986
IMMIGRATION: National Survey of 1,618 adults.

	White	*Black*	*Hispanic*	*Total*
Most immigrants contribute to US	32%	38%	48%	34%
Most cause problems	46	41	33	44
New immigrants will be welcomed in their neighborhoods	67	77	68	68
Most recent arrivals are here illegally	47	59	56	49
Life today is easier for immigrants that at the turn of the century	47	55	37	47
Life today is harder for immigrants	25	17	36	25
Immigrants today take jobs from Americans	34	44	19	34
Compared to people born here, they work harder	44	46	52	45
Most new immigrants end up on welfare	47	48	41	47
Government should penalize employers hiring illegal aliens	73	59	34	69
Should not penalize them	17	26	49	20
Illegal aliens who have lived here several yrs without breaking the law should not be deported	55	65	79	58
Army should be used to stem illegal aliens from Mexico	35	27	13	33
That is too drastic	54	65	77	57